Message Text

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PAGE 01 MADRID 01716 071903Z ACTION EUR-12

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CONFIDENTIAL MADRID 1716

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TAGS: PINT, SP, PFOR, SP, IT, FR, UR

SUBJECT: FOG ON THE SUMMIT: COMMENTS ON THE MADRID EUROCOMMUNIST

MEETING

REF: MADRID 1647 1654, 1670 1689

SUMMARY THE SUMMIT" CONTRIBUTED TO THE ATTAINMENT OF CARRILLO'S SHORT TERM OBJECTIVE: TOLERANCE OF THE PCE AS AN OVERT POLITICAL PARTICIPANT. BUT IT DID LITTLE, IF ANTHING, TO ADVANCE THE PCE'S LONGER TERM GOAL OF ACCEPTANCE AS A LEGITIMATELY DEMOCRATIC PARTY. NOR, FROM OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 MADRID 01716 071903Z

OPTIC DID IT APPEAR TO ENHANCE THE IMAGE OF EUROCOMMUNISM GENERALLY. END SUMMARY.

1. BOTH CARRILLO AND THE GOS HAVE COME A LONG WAY SINCE THE PCE SECGEN'S "CLANDESTINE" DEC QP PRESS CONFERENCE IN MADRID. THE HOLIDING OF THE "SUMMIT" WAS A VICTORY FOR BOTH, FOR CARRILLO IN FURTHER DEMONSTRATING THAT THE

PCE IS A POLITICAL REALITY WITH WHICH SPAIN MUST NOW LIVE, AND FOT EH GOS REAFFIRMING ITS DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS WITH ITS WESTERN EUROPEAN AUDINECE. (WEST ERN DIPLOMATIC SOURCES TELL US THE IAALIAN EMBASSY MADE OR WAS TO MAKE IF NECESSARY AN INFORMAL DEMARCHE ON BEHALF OF HOLDING THE MEETING).

- 2. MORE CONCRRETEY, HOWEVER, WE JUDGE THAT THE SUMMIT" REPRESENTED AT BEST A MODEST GAIN FOR CARRILLO AND EVEN LESS OF ONE FOR EUROCOMMUNISM GENERALLY. THE FINAL DOCUMENT, THOUGH UNIQUE FOR BEING A THREE PARTY COMMUNIQUE, WAS LARGELY PLATITUDINOUS, REITERATING STATEMENTS OFTEN MADE BY THE PARTIES INDIVIDUALLY AND NOT GOING AS FAR IN SOME RESPECTS AS THE PCE. (AND PCI, AT LEAST EARLIER) HAVE BEEN WILLING TO GO ON THEIR WON.
- 3. NEIGTHER IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS NOR IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT WERE MARCHAIS AND BERLINGUER WILLING TO GO AS FAR AS CARRILLO REPORTEDLY DESIRED IN EXPLICITY DISTANCING THE EUROCOMMUNISTS FROM THE SOVIETS (WE UNDERSTAND THAT PCE LEADERS TOLD THE PRESS ON BACKGROUND THEY WERE FIGHTING FOR TOUGH LANGUAGE ON SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT THE PCE HAD A TOUGHER ALTERNATIVE FINAL DOCUMENT, WHICH NEVER SAW THE LIGHT OF DAY). IN FACT THE THREE TOOK A LARGELY VALUE FREE TACK GY EMPHASIZING THE INDEPENDENCE OF EACH COMMUNIST PARTY TO INTERPRET ITS OWN NATIONAL REALITY AND TO RESPOND TO IT AS IT SAW FIT. THESE WERE FAILINGS FOR WHICH CARRILLO ATTMPTED TO CONPENSATE IN SOME OF HIS REMARKS AT THE CLOSING PRESS CONCONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MADRID 01716 071903Z

FERENCE AND WHICH PCE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY AZCARATE ANTICIPATED IN HIS MARCH 2. EL PAIS EDITORIAL (REFTEL. BUT CARRILLO HIMSELF VITIATED THESE ATTEMPTS A A MORE EXPLICITLY ANTI-SOVIET POSTURE WITH HIS PRAISE FOR THE "ECONOMIC CULTURAL AND SOCIAL" ADVANCES OF THE SOVIETS AND EAST EUROPEAN, TREATING THEIR POLITICAL SYSTEM AS SOME HOW APART, UNREATED AND ACCIDENTIALLY REPRESSIVE.

4. SO FROM THE MADRID OPTIC, THE THREE COMMUNIST LEADERS WERE PREACHING ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO THE CONVINCED AND CONVERTED, IN SPITE OFCARRILLO'S DESIRE TO DO OTHERWISE. FOR THE SHORT TERM, WE DOUBT THAT THE ZSUMMIT" WILL HAVE MUCH EFFECT ON SUPREME COURT DELIBERATIONS ON THE PCE'S LEGALIZATION CASE, ALTHOUGH IT OBVIOUSLY IS YET ANOTHER AFFIRMATION OF WHAT IS TERMED SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GET TOGETHER CLEARLY IS MORE DIFFICULT TO ASSESS. BUT FROM HERE IT APPEARS THAT THE PARTICIPANTS' REFUSAL TO ADDRESS SOVIET AN EAST EUROPEAN HUMAN

RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND THEIR APPROVAL OF THE "NON POLITICAL" ASPECTS OF THOSE REGIMES HAVE SIMPLY REINFORCED THE VAST MAJORITY IN THEIR CONVICTION THAT THE EUROCOMMUNISTS DEFINATION OF DEMOCRACY AND INDEPNEDENCE CONTINUES TO BE FUNDAMENTALLY AT ODDS WITH THEIR WON. IN THIS REGARD IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT THE "SUMMIT" EVOKED THE MOST SEARCHING AND CRITICAL COVERAGE OF THE PCE BY THE MADRID PRESS SINCE FRANCO'S DEATH. PLUS A FEW SLAPS AT MARCHAIS DISGUISED STALINISM AND BERLINGUER'S BACKSLIDING.EATON

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